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Excerpts from an Address

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DELIVERED BY

WALTER NICHOLS

OF

Washington, D. C.

ON THE

BATTLE GROUND

OF

MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

July 21, 1910

The attention of the NATIONAL BUREAU FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PATRIOTISM has been called to an address delivered "On the Battle Ground of Manassas," *July 21, 1910.*

As it will be remembered, this event was broadly advertised to the press of the country, and by special agencies.

Those who were chiefly responsible for it set forth the claims that it was intended to bring into closer bonds of brotherhood the surviving veterans of both armies, and, in a general way to advance the much mooted question of "Peace and Good Will."

So far as we have been able to learn the veterans of the North, who sojourned there and all visitors from the North, carried with them the best of feelings, fraternizing in the freest and most liberal spirit with their former adversaries, and visitors from the South.

Through the press, the public was assured that a perfect spirit of harmony prevailed, and that, with the passing of the first half century since the opening battle of the Civil War, the last traces of bitterness and discord had perished, and that all lingering passions were buried forever.

We had hoped that this might prove true, and that all citizens of this great land would join in the proposition—"That this is one country and has but one flag"—the Stars and Stripes.

While indulging in these pleasant reflections, the book above referred to was placed before us. We have read it, not only with astonishment, but also with grave apprehension.

Under some circumstances we might have laid the speech aside and said, it is unworthy and not entitled to serious thought or consideration; but, in this case we cannot do so, and for these reasons:—

The orator who delivered what he terms his Oration, has published a catalogue containing the names of many newspapers in this country—North and South—and also from abroad, whose editors seem to have re-

viewed the work, and many of them have given it their approval. (The author publishes twenty-one editorial and other commendations in his catalogue.)

Among the comments published in the catalogue is one from *London Academy*, which says:

"It is important to note that this is no mere anonymous brochure, but a speech, or, as the speaker prefers to call it, an oration, publicly delivered by a responsible orator on a great occasion."

The following comments are from within this country—North as well as South—

"Historically and statistically the Oration is thoroughly worked out."—*Chicago (Ill.) Evening Post*.

"There are times, in sooth, when the author's literary audacity almost makes one gasp; but belated Truth, long crushed to earth, more than once has looked weird when she regained her feet."—*Richmond (Virginia) Journal*.

"The reader is startled by the disclosures, which are unquestionable, yet which remained concealed from him, let him be ever so well read."—*Mr. John W. DuBois, Historian*.

"No higher praise can be given to the Oration than to say, as I do, that it is worthy of the theme, the occasion, and the locality that inspired it."—*Lieut. J. R. Eggleston, formerly of U. S. N. and C. S. N.*

"Would make a valuable text book in our high schools and colleges."—*Rev. E. H. Randle, Historian*.

"An oration well worthy the attention of all thoughtful students of American history."—*New York Herald*.

"In this address is found a virile, lucid presentation of a subject that was never more vital than it is today."—*Charlottesville (Virginia) Daily Progress*.

With these brief extracts, taken from both prominent and responsible sources, we respectfully ask you to read, with care, the following correctly quoted pages from the book, and then decide for yourselves whether there is not great need of loyal work being done—"To foster and stimulate patriotism—to inculcate into the minds of our fellow citizens the proposition that this is one country, and that it has but one flag—the Stars and Stripes—to inspire a deeper love and greater veneration for that flag—to educate the youth of this land that his country will honor most those who show unqualified loyalty when danger to it is threatened."

EXCERPTS FROM THE BOOK

From Page 1:

Survivors of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, Prince William County Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and all others that are here gathered on the battle-ground of Manassas to honor those who fought to preserve the rights of American nations:

Soldiers of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, the war is not over, not yet may you unbuckle your armor; take up the arms that you laid down at Appomattox, then on to the front, for the hardest fighting is yet to be done.

In 1861 the American nations submitted one question only to the arbitrament of arms. That question was answered in 1865 on the ninth day of April, the saddest day known to Virginians, when the court of last resort decided that no nation a party to the treaty of 1788 and its amendments should be permitted to withdraw from that compact; but that same court, the highest of tribunals, then decided that the rights of no nation should be otherwise affected. In construing the terms of the agreement in one respect only did opinions differ.

As the victors fought for the perpetuation of the treaty,—in all its provisions, as interpreted by them,—the decision met with their entire approval. The defeated countries lost but one of their rights, while all their other rights were to be theirs forever. Each fought that her sovereignty might be hers forever, and each was assured that never should her sovereignty be placed in jeopardy. Thus the defeated countries were victorious in defeat.

But, Soldiers of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, the decision of the court of last resort has been disregarded by the victors. They have violated the terms of surrender by which you were induced to lay down your arms, for, one by one, the rights of the defeated nations have been taken from them. The terms of surrender signed, sealed and delivered, the defeated peoples hoped that they would be permitted to exercise at least a few of the powers of sovereignty.

A vain hope! The War of Reconstruction; the most horrible of all modern wars, was forced upon them by their victors. They were to pay billions as indemnity under an infamous pension law; they were to pay billions as an indemnity under an iniquitous tariff. They were to see a vast republic made of the American nations; they were to see that republic enter upon wars of conquest in distant lands. They were to see Cleveland tear down the flag that had been raised in dishonor; they were to see McKinley assassinate the treaty that he had fought to perpetuate. Yes, they were to see McKinley assassinate the treaty that he had fought to perpetuate, for they were to see him replace the flag that Cleveland had torn down, his face livid with shame the while. They were to see shrieking mobs, drunk with imperial power,—tasted for the first time,—gather about the flag that dishonored the heavens, while above the uproar they were to hear the more coherent among the rabble shout: "Let the flag stay put! Get out, you little Americans! The flag once planted shall wave for-

ever!" They were to hear a trumpet sounding throughout the world: "Awake, nations of the earth, the peoples of sovereign powers have become American people!" They were to see the vast American republic evolve into a powerful empire, with a president for king; they were to see that empire become a despotic monarchy. They were to see the highest court of the communities that once were nations become the lowest court of the new monarchy; they were to see the members of the highest court of the new monarchy become the minions of the despot. They were to see American legislator the despot's lackeys. They were to see the communities that had been sovereignties with no right save the rights that the despot was pleased to grant them from time to time. They were to see the American despot become more powerful than the British king.

The ~~old~~ ^{new} ~~monarchy~~ ^{now} on the American throne—the second that Ohio has supplied the American monarchy within a single decade—intends to tax directly the persons that live in the communities that once were nations. More than half the members of the despot's highest court rebel, refusing to permit him directly to tax his subjects; so the despot intends to pacify the rebels by going through the form of adding a section to the compact of confederation that is still supposed to bind the communities that were once sovereignties. The despot is to be permitted directly to tax the income of his people.

If there be a single defect in this vast monarchy, it is the venerable ~~old~~ ^{new} ~~constitution~~ ^{now} in which many of the people still hold the old treaty of 1783 ~~and~~ ^{and} amendments. Once let that document give the American despot the moral right to tax his subjects, and Anglo-Saxon civilization in America shall be no more. Almighty God, forbid!

Virginians, since the nations that you fought have violated the agreement under which you laid down your arms, I implore you,—I command you,—take up your arms, and let every man of this old commonwealth be gathered to his fathers rather than die a slave.

From Page 83:

"Possibly no human being who has studied the affairs of men ever believed that a sovereign entity ever willingly surrendered her powers. Is it thinkable that Virginia, a nation two hundred years old, with her traditions jealously guarded by her, ever willingly laid down her life to enter the American hell? One with the intelligence of a boy of ten may not read the reports of the debates on the adoption of the Constitution of the United States without reaching the conclusion that the parties to that compact never intended to create a nation."

From Page 90:

"John Marshall announced that a charter passed by a state government was a contract and therefore was protected by the federal constitution. The next step was to decide that the federal congress had the implied power to create a corporation, and Marshall did so decide. The work was accomplished. The treasonable design of Alexander Hamil-

ton and John Marshall was a judicial success, and the grand work of the American Revolution was undone, and once more in defiance of God and human rights, man was sunk to a subject and government with its divine right to reign was announced to the world. Consequently the old conflict that has surged through all human history—the conflict between freedom and tyranny—has not yet been settled."

From Page 115:

I shall not trace the progress of the events that occurred between 1850 and 1860. But, in passing, let me say that the northern nations evidently believed that they could exploit the southern nations time without end in the manner that they had exploited them in the past, provided that the union of the nations should not be dissolved. And the Yankee knew what he was about. From Appomattox this nation—the northern nations have fleeced the southern nation as other peoples of the world ever have been sheared. My friends, this I say to our shame. Meek humility may become the crime of suicide. But more of this later.

From Page 117:

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA A TEMPORARY CONFEDERATION

Never spell the southern section of this document that once consisted of sovereign countries with an initial capital letter. There never was a "South" in America. The Confederate States of America, a temporary association, was an agreement between sovereignties. The words in which that agreement was written never were intended to mean that sovereignties would be merged into a single nation.

Please pardon this brief digression. I wish to say that the proper title of the war that was fought between 1861 and 1865 is, the War between the American States; or, the War between the American Nations. There was no Civil War, there was no War of the Rebellion; there was no War between the United States of America and the Confederate States of America; there was no War between the North and the South; but there was a war between American sovereignties, in which the nations were divided into two sets of allies.

From Page 120.

VICTORS AND VANQUISHED NEVER MATE

The irascible John Randolph of Roanoke once said: "I do not recall a single instance of cordiality between reconciled friends." Some day those who have not read the writings of the "lunatic" of southwestern Virginia should lay aside Shakespeare for awhile, then take up the writings of John Randolph of Roanoke. What would the old "lunatic" have said had he been told that in the days that were to come—these days—that the people of the north, hating the people of the south for more than three centuries, should profess for them a most ardent love? Has

a victorious people ever loved the people that they vanquished? Has a vanquished people ever loved the people that vanquished them? Come, while we are among ourselves, let us admit that we hate our enemies, and also let us admit that we know that they are still our enemies. During the last past twenty years I have travelled in all the southern communities that once were nations, and I have had excellent opportunity to study them closely; I was born in Virginia, received a part of my education there, and lived there during my boyhood. For the last past eighteen years I have lived in the city of Washington, or in the city of New York, and during those years I have travelled in the north, the east, the west, as well as in the south. I say, with deliberation, that the hatred of those of the north toward those of the south is a hundred-fold greater than those of the south toward those of the north. There is a reason: The "tired never hate those that injure them so much as the injurers hate the that they injure. Yes, O Shade of the Mighty "Lunatic" of Roanoke, if your spirit be about this battle-ground, the "cordiality" that exists 'twixt them that live north and them that live south of the Potomac is of the kind that would have brought from your "crazy" brain an immortal expression.

From Page 126:

John Marshall indeed left but little of the Constitution of the United States for others to destroy. If a schoolboy of any part of this monarchy was asked to name the most infamous of all American traitors, he probably would mention the name of Benedict Arnold, a New England man. If I were asked that question, in reply I should name John Marshall, a Virginian, than who no greater traitor has lived since the time of Judas Iscariot. There have been men who by treachery have destroyed several nations; but I venture to say that John Marshall by treachery has destroyed more nations than any other man of recorded time. Not by the armies of Sherman and Grant was the Constitution of the United States destroyed, but by the political opinions of Alexander Hamilton judicially rendered by John Marshall.

Indeed has Patrick Henry's prophecy been fulfilled. Said that great statesman: "We drew the spirit of liberty from our British ancestors; by that spirit we have triumphed over every difficulty. But indeed, sir, the American spirit, assisted by the ropes and chains of consolidation, is about to convert this country into a powerful and mighty empire." Again, was he wrong on the ninth day of June, in 1788, when he thundered out this question: "Will not absolute despotism ensue?"

THE TENTACLES OF THE AMERICAN DESPOT

All in Virginia know that "Maryland, My Maryland!" recently has been made over into one of the patriotic songs of the American monarchy. The pupils of the public schools of the nation who breathed and burned, but who did not come, are to be taught the new

song. Possibly the politics of the American monarchy is not taught in the public schools of the City of Baltimore as yet.

But in the City of New York studies in the politics of the American monarchy and studies in her patriotism now are begun in the kindergarten. Here is the first lesson of a long course in each of those studies, for this one lesson combines politics and patriotism. The lesson is entitled "Our Flag." Even now I can see the dear little boys and girls salute the Stars and Stripes, and even now I can hear them earnestly intone this chant: "I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands. One nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." There are not even state lines to separate the communities that form the American monarchy—not if the teachings of the public schools of the city of New York be true. "One nation, indivisible,"—is the American monarchy whose institutions the pupils of New York City are taught to revere.

From Page 136:

Under the form of federal confederation that our fathers intended to establish, the human race in America would have been capable of its highest development. To become higher types of man the peoples of the world may not be amalgamated. To the contrary, degeneration would certainly be the result of amalgamation. Provincialism and sectionalism are necessary to a high development of mankind. Home rule may not be too elastic, but should stretch from the family life to the life of the nation,—yes, even to the life of the world, including all nations.

From Page 138.

THE CONSTITUTION TORN UP

The Constitution of the United States has been torn up by a few persons while the American peoples slept. Indeed, the people of the American monarchy are yet asleep. When they awake after their long slumber, as did Rip Van Winkle of old, they will find that they are slaves under a despotism more powerful than any other that the world has ever known.

Thus, soldiers of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, the victorious nations violated the terms of surrender by which you were induced to lay down your arms—before the ink dried on the paper that contained those terms. I shall not recall the details of the outrages that have been committed upon the defeated nations by the victors, for those details are indelibly written on the memory of each Virginian—written in blood, then burned into memory by countless fires. So I shall not relate the horrors of the war of Reconstruction in detail; nor shall I trace in detail the growth of the American monarchy; but I shall ask you to consider several of the countless outrages that have been committed by the victors upon their defeated foes. I refer to these because they are existing evils—continuing outrages—which cause me to tremble with indignation and shame as I utter these words.

INDEMNITY BY PENSION LAWS.

First I shall refer to the infamous pension laws now in force, by which laws the vanquished have been forced to pay to the victors an indemnity amounting to billions. While all the American sovereignties fought out a great war in order that a question arising under the interpretation of the treaty to which they were parties might be decided, yet the defeated nations, in pensions alone, have been required to pay out billions to their victors. Even now the defeated peoples are paying millions annually as indemnity in pensions.

It is a pitiful sight as well as a shameful one, to see those old veterans of the defeated nations yearly pay tribute to the men that they fought fifty years ago.

The defeated ~~others~~ were right in their contention that as sovereigns they could withdraw from the treaty of 1788, and its amendments, for they had reserved that right to themselves; but the force of might made right, so the victors, in violation of the terms of surrender, seized all the right that might give to them. Not only were the vanquished made to pay billions in pensions to those that they had fought, their widows and their minor children, but they were made to pay fully three times as much more in pensions to those that they had not fought, and their widows and their minor children. Every dollar of indemnity gave for a small amount paid to negroes—was spent beyond the ~~lands~~ of the defeated nation, and not one penny of all those enormous payments was returned to the defeated peoples. Moreover, unless the pension laws are changed, the posterity of the men that fought for the southern nations will continue to pay pensions during the next fifty years or more.

Has any victorious people other than those who fought against the southern countries ever so horribly mutilated a fallen foe? I contend that the peoples of the defeated nations should have received the same pension benefits as did the victors—from Appomattox to the present day. A new pension law should be enacted without loss of time, and that law should provide that the soldiers of the southern nations, their widows and their minor children, during the future should receive the same benefits as the soldiers of the northern nations, their widows and their minor children. Furthermore, the new law should provide that the soldiers of the southern nations, their heirs or their assigns, should receive as much as the soldiers of the northern nations, their heirs or their assigns have received. Until such a law is enacted, I shall advocate this cause so long as I live.

To think of the immense amount of money that would be circulated in the South if such a law were enacted! Yet, my friends, such an immense sum divided among southerners would not make them nearly so wealthy as the people of the other part of this monarchy. Why? The devices of the victors by which they took the frugal earnings of the vanquished from them were not limited to the pension outrages.

INDEMNITY BY TARIFF LAWS.

For half a century the southern communities have been forced to bear burdens of taxation under a tariff more outrageous than I have words to describe. The industries of the South have been stifled, the fields of the South have been laid bare—that northern industries might be built up. The infernal tariffs of the last fifty years have really constituted indirect income taxation levied upon all southerners. Scornfully do the victors revile us. They say that we of the South are poor. But they do not say that they steal from us the little that they permit us to earn—now by tariff laws, now by pension laws, now by legislation so varied that for want of time such federal enactments may not be discussed in this oration. Some day a more humane tariff may be passed. May Almighty God so touch the hearts of those who have laid us in commercial bondage for more than a century that they may have pity on us, that their hearts may be melted by the tears of the widows and of orphans, and that they may cease to fatten on our poor bodies! Indeed have we suffered at their hands.

Soldiers of the Eighth Virginia Regiment, again I say, the war is not over. Here, on the battle-ground that is ~~polluted~~ by the ashes of your fallen comrades, I again ask you to take up ~~the~~ arms ¹ down at Appomattox, that you fight without ceasing, again enjoy the rights so long denied to them. You must not be slaves.

THE END.

Being convinced that teachings like these are dangerous, and liable to work infinite harm unless counteracted, we call upon all true patriots to co-operate with our National Bureau in teaching that spirit of patriotism which will contribute to the life and strength of our great Republic.

Yours in Patriotism and Loyalty,

THE NATIONAL BUREAU,
Postal Telegraph Building, Chicago, Ill.

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